THE WORLD TOMORROW

Non-Violence in Samoa

GRACE E. WILLS

The Case Against FOSTER

an Editorial

Modern Apocalypticism

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN

Who Are the Socialists?

McALISTER COLEMAN

OCTOBER 12th

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THE
WORLD TOMORROW

ol. XV October 12, 1932 No. 13

. Long Stride Toward Peace

The Lytton report points the way to peace and jus-ce in Manchuria. It is far more forthright and vig-ous than had been anticipated. The commissioners y bluntly: "It is a fact that without a declaration of ar a large area of what was indisputably Chinese ter-tory has been forcibly seized and occupied by the rmed forces of Japan, and has in consequence of this peration been separated from and declared indepen-ent of the rest of China." This was done in spite of he Covenant of the League, the Nine Power Treaty, nd the Kellogg Pact, "all of which were designed to revent action of this kind." The charge is made that apan failed to exhaust pacific means of securing re-dress for her grievances against China. The bomb xplosion on the night of September 18 "was not in it-elf sufficient to justify military action," and the seiz-ure of Mukden and the occupation of surrounding ter-itory by Japanese military authorities "cannot be re-garded as measures of legitimate self-defense." The Japanese are given full credit for establishing the pup-pet state of "Manchukuo," a procedure which "is op-posed to the interests of China. It disregards the wishes of the people of Manchuria, and it is at least questionable whether it would ultimately serve the in-terests of Japan."

The report strongly recommends the calling of an Advisory Conference, to be composed of representa-tives from China and Japan and two groups of dele-gates from Manchuria selected respectively by China and Japan, with neutral observers. Points upon which the conference is unable to reach an agreement should be referred to the Council of the League for further consideration. The suggestion is made that the results of the conference should be embodied in four separate instruments:

First, a declaration by the government of China which would distinguish between the powers of the cen-tral government and the local government in Man-churia. A considerable measure of local autonomy should be granted, but the central government should reserve complete sovereignty over the region and re-tain control of foreign relations, customs, postoffice, and the Salt Gabelle; the net income from these reve-nues to be equitably divided between the two adminis-trations. The chief executive of Manchuria should be appointed by the government of China from a panel of names submitted by the Council of the League of Na-tions. A special gendarmerie or police should be trained, with the collaboration of foreign advisers, and should constitute the only armed forces in the territory. All Japanese troops should be withdrawn, including those hitherto maintained in the railway zone. The chief executive should select a foreign adviser to super-vise the constabulary, and another foreigner to counsel the fiscal administration, to be chosen respectively from names submitted by the Council of the League and the Bank of International Settlements. The advisability of selecting a relatively large number of Japanese ad-visers was stressed, although "the goal to be kept in view throughout the period of transition is the creation of a civil service composed entirely of Chinese."

Second, a Sino-Japanese treaty dealing with Japan-ese interests. This document should insure the free participation of Japan in the economic development of Manchuria, but should "not carry with it a right to control the country either economically or politically." It is proposed that the right of Japanese to settle and lease land should be extended to the whole of Man-churia, rather than be confined to the railway zone as has been the case heretofore. Two foreigners, one a Japanese, should be attached as advisers to the Su-preme Court, and in cases affecting foreigners their opinions should be made public. A long section con-tains detailed suggestions as to the solution of the rail-way problem in Manchuria. Under the conditions laid down it is hoped that China "might then find no diffi-culty in recognizing all the definite grants made to Japan by such treaties and agreements as those of 1915"—the result of Japan's famous 21 demands.

Third and fourth, a Sino-Japanese treaty of con-ciliation, arbitration, non-aggression and mutual assist-ance, and a commercial treaty. Emphasis is placed upon the advisability of demilitarizing Manchuria and of reaching an agreement that any nation violating the demilitarized territory should be regarded as an ag-gressor. Concerning the Chinese boycott, the report says: "Whether the organized application of the boy-cott to the trade of one particular country is consistent with friendly relations or in conformity with treaty obligations is rather a problem of international law than a subject of our inquiry."

It is thus apparent that the report in its entirety constitutes a vigorous condemnation of the Japanese policy in seizing Manchuria by armed force and estab-lishing a smoke-screen government. The commission-

ers are agreed that pacific means are available through which Japan may safeguard her legitimate rights and interests in Chinese territory. We have every reason to anticipate, therefore, that the League of Nations, supported by the government of the United States, will refuse to acquiesce in the face of Japan's dangerous aggression, but will continue to use moral, diplomatic and financial pressure until restitution has been made in Manchuria.

Sympathy for the Japanese people should not blind us to the realities of the situation. Japan's military leaders have committed an international crime and must be compelled to restore territory taken by armed force. To relinquish control now will prove to be an extremely humiliating experience for Japanese patriots, but any attempt at conciliation that is based upon the proposal that Manchuria should remain under the military and political control of Japan is highly dangerous and should forthwith be renounced. Not only would another Alsace-Lorraine be created, but the machinery of peace would be dealt a deadly blow, and disarmament indefinitely postponed.

Toward a New Party?

While the defeat of Governor Philip La Follette in Wisconsin and the unhorsing of the progressive Senator Bronson Cutting from the control of his party in New Mexico seem on the surface to be disquieti these apparent reverses may turn out to be blessings disguise. Neither of these able and liberal-spirit men has anything in common with either the men the principles which now dominate the Republic Party. Both of them have, however, thought it e pedient to label themselves Republicans in order to g the good-will, which because of the Civil War a for other mysterious reasons, has adhered to th trade-mark. Despite their efforts, however, they a such allies as Senator Norris have been powerless affect the course of Republican policies on the nation stage and now they have been dislodged from par control inside their respective states. Governor L Follette has gone down under the strain of the depr sion while we may suspect that the coming into Ne Mexico, by marriage, of the wealthy and astute Ru Hanna McCormick Simms played a part in the di lodging of Senator Cutting from his position of leade ship.

If the rebuffs to these men should continue, a should Senator Robert La Follette and Senator Cu ting be defeated for re-election to the Senate wh they next come up, they will be driven, in order to pr serve their independence, to bolt the Republican Par and set up independent parties in Wisconsin and Ne Mexico. But to do this after one has been defeate several times always seems to be a case of the fox a the sour grapes and inevitably estranges large grou of voters. We suggest, therefore, to Senator Cuttin and to the Wisconsin progressives that since the bridges are burning behind them they should, withi the next year, formally abandon the Republican Part and help to create the state units of that new progre sive party which is so sorely needed. If in Wisconsi the progressives would combine with the Socialists i a new party, then, with the Farmer-Labor Party i control of Minnesota, we would have a geographica nucleus for a great forward movement in America politics. There is far more hope for progress in suc a course of action than there is in Senator Norris' support of Roosevelt, which will confuse rather tha clarify the development of liberal thought and actio

Two recent events indicate a strong probability tha such a procedure may be adopted. Senator Brookhart who was defeated in the Republican primary of Iowa has announced his candidacy as a Progressive on a independent ticket—not as an Independent Republican And the La Follettes have dropped a broad hint tha they may soon forsake the G.O.P. In an editorial i *The Progressive*, the La Follette organ, written sinc the defeat of the Governor, certain pertinent question are asked:

> Does Tuesday's result furnish the opportunity for the liberal-minded people of Wisconsin to break away from both of the old parties and start a new deal in the state? Would it be wise to launch an independent movement at the coming

Another Red Herring!

NOW

BEAT THE REDS!

In the Republican primary election in Iowa the candidate of Americanism, Henry Field, beat the famous Moscow Pilgrim, S. Wildman Brookhart, decisively as follows:

Henry Field	197,263
S. Wildman Brookhart	145,902

While in Wisconsin Walter J. Kohler, advocating government economy and fair taxation, defeated Philip F. La Follette, whose platform was the confiscation of private property, by the following decisive vote:

Walter J. Kohler	409,527
Philip F. La Follette	317,685

And John B. Chapple, 32 year old editor who campaigned bare handed on the theory that the way to beat a bully is to out-fight him, licked the worst of the senate Reds since Brookhart's downfall by a majority of 17,740.

John B. Chapple	343,158
John J. Blaine	325,418

* * *

AMERICA'S future is in the hands of her citizens!

We have beaten the Reds in Tribune territory!

What are you doing in your field?

Chicago Tribune

THE WORLD'S GREATEST NEWSPAPER

Full page advertisement in the New York Sun, September 27, 1932.

election which would be the basis for the formation of a new third party in Wisconsin modeled after the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota? The Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota has succeeded in electing a United States senator, a governor and many other officials. Can Wisconsin do the same thing?

Two or three million votes for Norman Thomas will help the progressives to make the plunge.

Smith's New Outlook

Alfred E. Smith has become the editor of a magazine, *The New Outlook,* the first issue of which has just appeared. Mr. Smith's first contribution is an editorial in which he berates Franklin Roosevelt for raising the "forgotten man" as a campaign issue. In it Mr. Smith proves himself a much more hopeless and befuddled political thinker than we imagined him to be. He declares: "There is no country in the world in which individual initiative counts for so much, where opportunities to rise are so great and where class distinction is so unimportant. In no other country is there so little evidence of class hatred, so little encouragement to the communist, the fascist and the junker, and such responsible, far-sighted and loyal leadership of labor."

This doctrine would have passed muster in 1890 and might even have had a degree of plausibility in 1920. But anyone who seriously advances it today proves himself politically incompetent. It is true that free land and an expanding economy prevented the formation of class lines in this country and encouraged the illusion that there would always be room on top for any individual with the initiative to make his way. Time and circumstances have proven that there is no genius in American democracy which can prevent the formation of class lines and the determination of political and economic problems through a social struggle between the classes once the pioneer period of American industry is past, as it now is.

If Mr. Smith holds his creed of success through individual initiative seriously, and not simply for the purpose of venting his spite upon a former ally and friend of whose success he is pitifully jealous, he is merely another example of the tardiness of American political thought. We try to solve the problems of an industrial civilization by ideals, convictions and credos which emerged in a period of history when the agrarian and the industrial pioneer seemed to justify the hope that we had found a way in America to give each individual a chance commensurate with his capacities to exploit it. Now we know that individual opportunities are, by and large, determined and limited by the economic circumstances of each individual's life. If some lack fair opportunities, they will have to win them finally from a reluctant society by common action with all those who are in a similar condition of disinheritance. American politics cannot be healthy until there is a much more general recognition of the inevitably economic basis of all political action. To speak as Mr. Smith does, of the "need of united coöperative action of all good citizens of whatever class or creed" is a proof of either dishonesty or ignorance.

Obituary for Walter Lippmann

Walter Lippmann began his public life as a radical young Socialist, fresh from Harvard. As secretary to a Socialist mayor, it was rumored that he regarded his chief as much too conservative. Later he became the editor of the *New Republic* and the brilliant exponent of Wilsonian liberalism. Still later he assumed the chief editorial chair in the New York *World,* and by this time he had sunk to the level of proving that the Democratic Party was a better instrument of liberalism than the Republican Party. Since the demise of the *World* he has been writing a column for the Republican New York *Herald-Tribune.* Naturally he is anxious to prove that his new connection does not corrupt his liberalism. He therefore writes all kinds of articles to prove his scholarly impartiality. His most recent contribution to the wisdom of the nation is an article in which he weighs the "courage" of Roosevelt against the "courage" of Hoover, proving that the former has at least as much intestinal fortitude as the latter. One of his arguments is that Roosevelt proved his courage by the manner in which he conquered his disease. What relevance does that fact have to politics? So it is that liberalism decays until it busies itself with psychoanalytic analyses of leading candidates. *Vale,* Mr. Lippmann! Too bad that a young man of such great promise should die so young.

Progressives Please Reprint

Just about the time last week when Governor Roosevelt was conferring with Senator Norris in McCook, Nebraska, Frank Hague, Mayor of Jersey City and Democratic boss of New Jersey, returned from a trip to Europe. The interview he gave to reporters ought to make interesting reading for Senator Norris and his National Progressive League. Said Mayor Hague: "The Republicans can't hang radicalism on us and make it stick. Radicalism died with Bryan. All our leaders are conservative. Curry and McCooey are conservative, the national committee of which I have been a member for 15 years is conservative. And ours is a party of the interests and industries." Asked whether "interests" included power trusts, he replied "I mean everything. To be against business would be to be against the working man."

Mayor Hague has thus conveniently offered a perfect refutation to the contentions of the National Progressive League, which is seeking liberal support for Roosevelt on the score that he is an enemy of the power interests and a great foe of corruption in gov-

ernment, and that he possesses every other heroic virtue so dear to the hearts of "liberals," who still persist in believing that political history may be determined by the sincerity and courage of political leaders whose parties are intimately related to the interests of property.

Can They Evade This Issue?

A strong letter to President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt has been sent by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, asserting that heretofore the demands of the Negro had been evaded "when they have not been relegated to the hate-inspiring diatribes of demagogues." In its letter to both candidates, enclosing a questionnaire, the Association states that it is asking specific questions in order to provide Negroes with a "competent and authoritative basis in determining their choice of candidates in the coming election." No questionnaire, be it noted, "is being sent to Socialist or Communist Party candidates, inasmuch as these parties have adequately declared themselves on the issues involved." The questions are of great interest to all those who have been working for bettered race relations. They are as follows:

1. To what exent will you, as head of your party, personally assume responsibility for ending the attitude of intolerance to Negro participation in politics in the South, manifested in schemes to prevent Negroes from qualifying as voters, tricks of Lily-whiteism, and in devices to bar Negroes from primary elections? 2. Will you seek to eliminate racial considerations from appointments and promotions under civil service, for example by substituting finger prints for the photographs now required for identification purposes? 3. Will you, if elected, appoint Negroes to office in proportion to their numerical strength in your party, including in your appointments diplomatic and consular posts? 4. Will you endeavor to stamp out entirely all forms of racial segregation in the government service, particularly in Washington? 5. Will you take steps to open to Negroes opportunities for training and service without regard to race in the armed forces of the United States, including the academies at West Point, Annapolis, and New London, the air service and other branches? 6. Will you maintain a cordial and constructive interest in the federal-supported institution for higher education for Negroes —Howard University? 7. Will you favor enactment of a federal anti-lynching law and will you sign such a bill if enacted in Congress? 8. Will you protect the self-government and independence of the Republic of Liberia, and will you restore to self-government the black Republic of Haiti now dominated in fiscal matters by the United States government in the interest of American bankers? 9. Will you personally order that there be no color discrimination on relief and public works projects financed wholly or in part with federal funds and that Negroes be given a fair share of work on such jobs? 10. Will you personally order that in any expenditure of federal funds for educational purposes, there be adequate safeguards against race discrimination in the expenditure of such funds by the federal government or locally through states? 11. Will you in word and deed, so far as in your power lies, procure the recognition and observance of the full citizenship rights of the Negro in the United States?

These are pointed, but cruelly-guided shafts aimed directly at the gross hypocrisy of old-party pretension about race relations. To answer them affirmatively would mean, as the N.A.A.C.P. doubtless knows, the complete reversal of Republican and Democratic practices for years. No Democratic or Republican candidate for president could satisfy the Negro on these queries without at once breaking up his party and revealing it for the sham it is. It is to be expected, therefore, that the letters will either be turned off by polite phrases which signify nothing except further hypocrisy or else will be met by a great crash of silence. As a journal which, year in and year out, has urged social and civic equality between the races, and which has eagerly hoped for a stouter militancy among Negroes themselves in just such ways as that employed by the N.A.A.C.P. this fall, we congratulate the organization on this forthright stroke. It will bring clarity out of confusion on the part of all save those professional fixers in the old-party machines, whose confusion will, we trust, be further demonstrated.

Double Tracks on the Trans-Siberian

Quietly, almost secretly, the Soviet government has double-tracked the Trans-Siberian Railroad. *Isvestia* recently announced the fact. Built between 1891 and 1900, this enormous ribbon ties Asiatic Russia to Moscow. All these years it has been a single-track road. Now the double-tracking is virtually completed.

The reason for this work was the threat of Japan. Impervious to the condemnation of world opinion, the Japanese imperialists took over Manchuria, threatened the Russian end of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and even cast their eyes toward Mongolia. Russia, the Japanese might argue, is ready prey. It has many and powerful enemies. The White Guard is eagerly waiting an opportunity to strike. It has enormous internal economic difficulties, and it will take a long time to move troops into the Far East. Less than two decades ago the Russians tried to fight Japan in the Far East only to discover that the single-tracked Trans-Siberian was wholly inadequate to the task of moving troops and munitions. Would not history repeat itself?

The Soviet government was determined that it should not. The Trans-Siberian was double-tracked and important arms factories were moved into Siberia. The Japanese challenge was answered. It would not be at all surprising to find henceforth a Japan far more conciliatory toward Russia.

Unquestionably this is a set-back to those who believe in peaceful means of removing international friction. Russia has answered a threat by a show of force —and probably that will be sufficient to deter Japan.

There is no use hoping that the policy of nations will change in any way until the peoples stop the imperialism of governments or until belligerent militarism is wiped out.

Russia may feel safer now that the Trans-Siberian is double-tracked, but she has paid heavily for this job. The Five Year Plan is lagging sadly; though there are other causes for this failure, the energies diverted toward the Japanese danger were not inconsiderable. Worst of all, however, is the fact that once more the militarist philosophy has apparently been vindicated: war has been made to seem less likely by preparation for war. And that is all the peace forces can hope for until they create a world in which imperialistic war ceases to achieve what to most people look like actual, even if temporary, results.

The Insull Disclosures

More of the methods practiced by Samuel Insull are coming to light. A list has been published of 205 favored "insiders" who were permitted to buy stock in Insull Utility Investments in advance of its issue to the general public at a price very much below that which the public paid. These gentlemen paid $12 a share for stock which was issued a few days later at $30. Some were thus able to unload very quickly upon the public at a profit of $18; others were so mesmerized by the fame of Mr. Insull that they held this stock and, since it is now worthless, are seeking to extenuate themselves on the plea that they too have lost. This, of course, has nothing to do with the case. Had these men not received special and unethical favors and had the market price been paid, the assets of the company would have been greater and the stock would be worth more today.

The men who in this instance were given and who accepted a chance for easy money at the expense of the investors included not only Mr. Dan Schuyler, Insull's political lawyer, and Mr. Samuel Ettelson, the corporation counsel and guiding genius of the Thompson administration, but also a number of prominent bankers and some other political figures. It even included Mr. Gerard Swope and Mr. Owen D. Young of the General Electric Company. This, moreover, seems to have been only one of many such pools which were established by Mr. Insull to pay off social, financial, and political debts. Mr. S. G. Lee, the attorney for a group of debenture holders, charges that the total discounts below market price which were given to the favored insiders in all of the Insull companies amounted to no less than $78,900,000.

Another pool has been published where members were allowed to buy stock on favored terms, and this list includes in addition to such prominent industrialists as Owen D. Young and Gerard Swope, such noted Chicago bankers as George Reynolds, Melvin Traylor and Solomon A. Smith, and also a number of politicians, including Anton Cermak, the present Mayor of Chicago and boss of the Democratic Party, Michael Igoe, Moe Rosenberg, P. A. Nash, and other Democratic leaders. Also on the list were Speaker David Shanahan of the Illinois House of Representatives and Elmer J. Schnackenberg, head of the Utilities Committee of the Illinois House of Representatives, who helped to steer through Mr. Insull's traction legislation. It is absolutely imperative that the lists of the other pools should immediately be made public since it has been charged that they include many politicians and some financial writers. When this is done we may have some explanation of the course of Illinois politics during the last 15 years.

Nor is this all which Mr. Insull seems to have done. Those who bought bonds in Middle West Utilities, Corporation Securities, and Insull Utility Investments, which were the largest of Mr. Insull's holding companies, believed that the stocks and bonds owned by these companies were theirs and would be held to protect their bonds. Instead of this, when Mr. Insull became hard-pressed as a result of his insensate desire to peg the market, he took these stocks and bonds to the banks and pledged them for bank loans with which to play the market. The helpless holders of what were once termed securities now find that virtually all the assets they thought were theirs are now in the hands of the banks and that they are ruined. Mr. Insull indeed up to the very end tried to get as many people as possible to buy his stocks although he must have known that they were insolvent.

The testimony which has been taken indicates that Martin Insull took stock belonging to the Middle West Utilities and other holding companies and turned them over to friends to use as security for bank loans, and that he also took securities deposited in a dummy account of his to one of the holding companies and got cash for them.

The total losses to the investors in Mr. Insull's far-flung empire seem to be at least 500 million dollars and may run to as high as a billion. State's Attorney Swanson and Federal Attorney Greene certainly owe it to themselves not only to push an active investigation into the affairs of these companies but to make every effort to bring Samuel and Martin Insull back from France and Canada respectively in order that they may throw more light on the whole matter. It would seem indeed as though men jealous for their honor would seize the opportunity to return and try to vindicate themselves. Yet Samuel Insull, Jr. sailed for Paris last Saturday at a time when both Federal and state authorities were planning to summon him as a witness. Incidentally, the Insull collapse throws an ironic light upon that gentleman's continually repeated claim that we could not trust our government to manage utilities because it was too corrupt.

The Case Against Foster

HE looks like a Presbyterian elder from the innermost hinterland; but he rides like a grim Red Knight against capitalist institutions, race prejudice, traditional trade union tactics, and the Socialist Party, his special hatred. Unlike the protagonist of Cervantes' novel, however, he tilts not against windmills but lets steel mills feel the impact of his lance.

He is a hard fighter, whose zeal and self-sacrificial devotion to his cause cannot be questioned; but he is an incurable romantic. Whether his faith resides in Moscow magic, or in some far heaven of the battling cosmos, he expects fate to move mountains; there will come the inevitable cataclysm which will shake America until a revolution drops into Mr. Foster's lap. That does not mean idle waiting; it means real preparation, for Mr. Foster has travelled a long distance since that glamorous "secret" meeting in the woods of Michigan. His flair for picturesque imagination has not always been an asset; it has led him to jump around from boring everyone and everything, to dual unionism—to shift his strategy with a speed bewildering to all but the most adaptive of his followers. It is not harsh discipline but basic romanticism that causes Mr. Foster's party to excommunicate independent members, or to cast out rebellious majorities who do not recognize that an idea is all-powerful—provided it is Mr. Foster's personal idea, which must have grown first of all, however, on the Moscow family tree. There has been a dramatic instability about "the American Stalin" which has not had the happiest effect on the prospects of success for American communism under the guidance of Tovaritch Foster.

Mr. Foster, because of the special form of discipline which animates the Communists, must be evaluated less as a person than the mouthpiece of a sect. That sect despises, denounces, and derides democracy. Few people of sophisiticated mentality today fail to see the many weaknesses of democracy under capitalism; everywhere it is on the defensive. But with a fine frenzy of oversimplification, Mr. Foster and his cohorts relegate it to outermost darkness, hailing dictatorship as the world's great hope. A decade ago, it was customary for Communists to apologize for dictatorship and declare it to be a necessary but a temporary evil; but that day seems to have passed forever. Mr. Foster, who perforce must adulate the accomplishments in Russia which normal enthusiasts welcome though less ecstatically, could not be persuaded that where the Five Year Plan has slowed, one of the reasons has been the harsh rule which makes capable men fear responsibility, a rule quite unnecessary in its ruthlessness. But what will work in Russia must, of course work in the United States. That Russia was an agrarian, non-industrialized country, with a rotten aristocracy ready to crumble at one sharp blow following a devastating war, makes no difference: the formula must be the same. Thus arise those exhibitions of fantasy which make the writings of the Communist Party redoubtable as imaginative literature. Thus the joint habit of blaming failure to speed the revolution on the white collar workers or on the Socialists, instead of on Communist craziness, and of following failures due to particular policies by stubbornly offering more of the same thing.

Not least of communism's fallacies is "the inevitability of violence," which has come to mean in practice encouragement in the use of violence and reprisal along with abuse of pacifists. That American Communists are illiterate in pacifist history or methodology does not deter them from assuming an all-wise assurance, thereby bringing down on their heads many a club that might be withheld, to the advantage of the working class, by methods no less militant but more rational. Communist ignorance of human psychology often seems abysmal; not to provoke blind hatred upon yourself is to prove, almost, that you are a traitor to the workers. The acme of Communst "strategy" is the frequent exploitation of the present order's victims, such as Sacco and Vanzetti (whose lot in Russia would have been pathetic) or the Scottsboro Negroes; everything that may be used for publicity is grist for the Communist mill, not infrequently to the great harm of those unfortunates who to all intents and purposes are being defended.

A fine, uncompromising eagerness to free the Negro from his shackles has been shown, in utter sincerity, by Communist leaders. This worthy aim has been set back, however, by terrible blunders of method: the deliberate provocation of the White South by direct challenge to the Jim Crow system may be debatable; but not the Communist plan for "self-determination of the black belt," which would fasten the stigma of a lower caste upon the Negro as horribly as it did in India, and raise the same problem against which Mahatma Gandhi has been contending with such brilliant success.

It is conceivable that a large vote for Foster might add to the grudge movement and deepen the fear in timid capitalist souls. It might intensify violence and add to bitterness. But it would do nothing to hasten a revolutionary movement with constructive principles working through a positive program. Of such an outcome, Socialist votes alone hold any promise.

as Brailsford sees it

British Labor Re-forms Its Ranks

WATCH a party after it has suffered a crushing defeat and you will learn the truth about its convictions and its will. A year ago the British Labor Party, deserted by its leaders, and faced by a coalition of both its opponents, endured a disaster that has no parallel in our history. It was, to be sure, exaggerated fantastically by the absurd working of our electoral system. At the polls its total vote fell by 20 percent, while in the House of Commons its representation dropped to less than one-fifth of its former number. That meant a lessening of its national influence and prestige, and a severe blow to its pride. It suffered, moreover, in the House a loss in quality as well as in numbers, for the casualty list of its officers was abnormally heavy. None the less, it still can count on nearly seven million voters in the country; hard work, good leadership, a bold policy and, above all, the lesson of events may one day bring back the lost million with fresh recruits to swell their numbers.

Has it, you will ask, revised its policies, executed a prudent retreat, and banished to oblivion the proposals which alarmed or bewildered its lost adherents? For it took, the reader will remember, a rather bold line in 1931, challenged the Money Power, turned all its guns on "The City," and placed in the forefront of its immediate program the nationalization of the Bank of England. On the contrary, it has elaborated this demand, rather more boldly and in considerable detail. Nor is this all. Its executive has prepared for the annual conference of the party, which meets on October 3 at Leicester, a series of resolutions, accompanied by memoranda, which outline the program that it will endeavor to carry out when next it is able to form a government. Together these four documents make a sweeping policy of socialization, for they propose to nationalize:

(1) The Bank of England;
(2) The entire service of electricity;
(3) The railways; and
(4) The land.

Based on the seizure of these key positions, there are proposals for control which cover the whole range of finance, transport and agriculture.

"But surely," you may say, "any party that called itself Socialist was always committed to as broad a program of nationalization as this, and indeed to much more. Where is the advance?" If you chose to conduct a little research into the history of the party you would assuredly find in the resolutions moved from the floor but adopted by its conferences even bolder proposals than these: the Trade Union Congress had declared for the nationalization of the entire industrial system several years before the Labor Party came into being. But all this meant little or nothing. In practice the party followed a sober reformist policy. It aimed at making the capitalist system a little more tolerable for the workers in our day and generation. It tried to expand the social services —education, health, pensions, and insurance against unemployment, accident and sickness. It believed in taxing wealth, especially unearned wealth, to feed these services, with the avowed purpose of equalizing incomes by this device, or at least of lessening inequality. It was not the pioneer in this field; Bismarck in Germany, Joseph Chamberlain and Lloyd George in England had shown it the way. It wished to go a great deal further in subsidizing the building of working class houses, and in destroying the slums. It was even considering the idea of family allowances (a weekly sum for every child), to be financed entirely by direct taxation.

IT was this kind of thing that made up the party's effective program; the rest was Utopia, a dream for the day after tomorrow, a sop to its radicals. With this moderation the mass of its adherents was fairly well content, and some of its leaders (notably Mr. Thomas) had never pretended to believe in anything bolder. There was, indeed, throughout the party a vague aspiration towards socialism. Popular orators would quote William Morris or Keir Hardie in their perorations; some would even mention Russia. But the will to act was lacking. No one was really thinking of the conquest of economic power; this English working class lacked the ambition and the imagination to conceive itself as the creator of a new social system.

For this modesty there was a further reason. Though the growth of the party had been very rapid,

few were confident that it would soon win an absolute majority. The industrial areas were already won, but to convert rural England, with its still surviving feudal system, is a heart-breaking task. There are wide counties in which the railwaymen are still the only organized workers. A relative majority we had already, but to govern under these conditions implies a tacit or open alliance with the Liberals. Few, save Mr. Snowden, openly enjoyed this dependence on a capitalistic party, but many specious arguments could be invented for it. We gained experience of government. We won the confidence of "the country"—MacDonald's favorite plea. There was much good work we could do, abroad as well as at home. There was much evil that we could prevent: Tory reaction at home, imperialism in India, competition in armaments, even—who knows? —war itself. To this reasoning the Labor Party succumbed, and presently its leaders found that office had its sweets. Society treated them politely: marquises entertained them in their country houses; the *Times* in its more genial moments occasionally called them "statesmen."

AGAINST all this the party is now reacting with healthy violence. It is ashamed of its record. MacDonald's desertion showed it the thing it had become. It realizes that during its second period of office it did not win the confidence of "the country" (which means, in our English dialect, the middle class), while it lost that of the workers. Its record of good legislative work was pitiably thin, nor can it feel enthusiasm when it looks at India or the London Naval Conference. The result is that, far from retreating, it advances. It has lost interest in social reform. With this new program it can never again patch up an alliance with the Liberals. It will have to struggle on until it wins an absolute majority and can aspire to change the system itself.

That is the meaning of its four resolutions on nationalization. One might, indeed, nationalize many industries and services without touching the foundations of the capitalist system. But here the idea is to seize the strategical positions; for, if these are held, one may from this vantage ground impose a plan on the rest of industry. Seen from this angle, the crucial position is manifestly banking, the control of credit and the supply of new capital. In England since the War the balance of power in the capitalist system has shifted. Our basic industries, after twelve years of unbroken depression, are tottering to bankruptcy. They are all in the hands of the banks. The Money Power is omnipotent, as it was not in the Victorian Age. To challenge "The City" is to drive a frontal attack straight at the center of British capitalism. This the Labor Party is doing. It knows the risk: after a heavy defeat it re-forms its ranks with the same objective.

On the whole, then, I think the I.L.P. was gravely in error when it chose this moment for secession. The Labor Party is in earnest over socialism as it never was before. The experience of the Great Slump has taught it that no patches or reforms will touch the root of the evil. The strange part of it is that the Right Wing, led by Herbert Morrison, is as determined and explicit about the change of front as is the Left, led by Lansbury, Sir Stafford Cripps and Major Attlee. You may in an uncharitable mood tear in pieces the past record even of the more advanced leaders. None of them showed much courage or ability until the crash came: they seemed to be mesmerized by MacDonald and Snowden. The result is that this party will never idolize a leader again, or trust him without a check. The next Labor Government (which may be many a long year ahead of us) will be so chosen and controlled that it will obey the party's will.

H. N. Brailsford

London, September 21, 1932.

"Helping" Unemployment

How much the National government has done to solve unemployment in Britain is indicated by the following sections from a report by the Ministry of Labor:

"It is estimated that at 22nd August last there were approximately 9,280,000 insured persons aged 16-64 in employment in Great Britain. This was 37,000 less than a month before and 85,000 less than a year before. The decline since July was largely due to a reduction in the numbers in employment in the cotton industry, which was affected by stoppages of work in some districts owing to trade disputes.

"There was also a falling off in textile printing, bleaching, dyeing, etc., in the tailoring trade, in coal-mining, in dock and harbour service, and in the distributive trades. An improvement, however, was recorded in the jute industry.

"At 22nd August, 1932, the numbers of unemployed persons on the registers of employment exchanges in Great Britain were 2,040,078 wholly unemployed, 719,295 temporarily stopped, and 100,455 normally, in casual employment, making a total of 2,859,828. This was 48,046 more than the number on the registers at 25th July, 1932, and 126,046 more than a year before. The total on 22nd August, 1932, comprised 2,289,045 men, 83,737 boys, 430,271 women, and 56,775 girls.

"Comparison with the figures for a year ago is affected as a result of legislative and administrative changes. The figures, however, include all persons registered as unemployed, whether in receipt of benefit or transitional payments or not, including those who continued to register, as they were entitled to do, after disallowance of benefit or transitional payments:—

	Persons normally in regular employment.		Persons normally in casual employment.	
	Wholly unemployed.	Temporarily stopped.		Total.
22nd August, 1932—				
Men	1,672,677	517,526	98,842	2,289,045
Boys	67,108	16,505	124	83,737
Women	253,169	175,631	1,471	430,271
Girls	47,124	9,633	18	56,775
Total	2,040,078	719,295	100,455	2,859,828
25th July, 1932—				
Men	1,645,687	520,004	93,366	2,259,057
Boys	58,932	17,110	78	76,120
Women	248,279	174,164	1,322	423,765
Girls	42,555	10,274	11	52,840
Total	1,995,453	721,552	94,777	2,811,782
24th August, 1931—				
Men	1,434,779	440,404	111,035	1,986,268
Boys	61,269	14,376	263	75,908
Women	413,812	194,728	2,189	610,729
Girls	48,535	12,321	21	60,877
Total	1,958,395	661,829	113,558	2,733,782

Who Are the Socialists?*

McALISTER COLEMAN

THERE is more thunder on America's political Left these campaign days than has been heard since the rising tide of socialism gave Eugene Victor Debs 900,000 votes in 1912, sent 118,000 members into the Socialist Party and placed 1,039 of these in various public offices from congressman to alderman. Many a veteran Socialist, remembering the implacable hostility of the "respectable" press of two decades back, shakes his head in bewilderment at the respectful hearing given to the spokesmen of his cause today by such pillars of conservatism as the New York *Times,* the New York *Herald Tribune,* the Boston *Transcript* and the Kansas City *Star.* He may wonder whether this change of front is due to the fact that his party has grown dangerously respectable or whether the editors, sensing the drift of things have grown more tolerant of dissident opinion. At all events, he recognizes the fact that the editorial spot-light has now fallen squarely upon socialism and its candidates.

Of Norman Thomas enough has been written in this magazine to forbid repetition. The life of this gallant standard-bearer of the Socialists has been told time and again so that most aware Americans know how he came into the party at a time when it took no small amount of intestinal stamina to acknowledge the Socialist label and how, ever since the colorful New York City mayoralty campaign of 1917, he has untiringly brought the Socialist word into the remotest corners of America.

As with Thomas, the name of Morris Hillquit has national fame. The Chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party was born in Riga in 1870. After studying at the Alexander Gymnasium in Riga, he came to this country in 1886 to plunge immediately into the desperate struggles of the New York garment workers against the sweat-shops of the day. His work in organizing the United Hebrew Trades, his tireless efforts on behalf of the exploited tailors in the pioneering days of their unions, his shrewd counsels and seemingly inexhaustible patience in the most trying labor situations, early won him the respect of the rank and file of the New York workers. The powerful International Ladies' Garment Workers Union has retained him as their lawyer since 1914. His advice, derived from a long experience in dealing with the difficult and ofttimes subtle phases of the laws concerning labor disputes, gave him a reputation that soon brought to his office clients from other and more lucrative fields. His work on behalf of large corporations is constantly held up by his enemies, of which he has plenty, as an example of Socialist apostasy. His manner of living, which after the pioneering days became more and more spacious until now he and his family occupy an apartment off swanky Park Avenue, added fuel to the hostile fires which constantly flare at him from the Left. When he accepted a retainer from certain White Russian oil interests in suits against the Soviets and, in a signed statement accompanying the papers filing the suits, said that the nationalization of the Russian oil fields was, from a legal standpoint, a form of theft, the fires leapt still higher. Left-wingers in his own party denounced this action; even those who had no interest in factional rows decried his attitude, while the Communists held a public trial in which they found Hillquit guilty of most everything from mayhem to high treason against the workers, although at the time the trial was held he had withdrawn from the suit.

It was inevitable that the inconsistencies between Mr. Hillquit's public avowal of socialism as a philosophy of life and his private way of living should be dwelt upon by his enemies. And be it said for him that he has never offered any apologia. He takes the position that as long as we are all forced to live somehow under a profit-making system, it is perfectly legitimate to make what profits we can, provided that we stick to our fundamental thesis that sooner or later that system must be destroyed. He has always been a liberal giver of time, money and energy to the party's activities, and I, for one, though thoroughly out of sympathy with such a pragmatism, am convinced that it is a philosophy honestly held. Honest too is his deep distrust of anything that comes out of Soviet Russia. For years Hillquit has been preaching a social democracy, with the accent on the last word. His socialism is based on the German model, and like leaders of the German party, he feels that the Soviets represent a barbarous "Asiatic socialism," far removed from the orthodox, legalistic, parliamentary socialism which he hopes some day will be accepted by a persuaded people, backing their persuasion at the ballot-boxes.

ASSOCIATED with Hillquit in the early days of union organization on the East Side were what is known as the *Forward* group—the men and women who builded what was at one time the largest and most influential Jewish daily in the country. The pa-

* This is the fourth and last of a series of articles describing the personnel of the chief political parties.

triarchal Abraham Cahan, editor of the *Forward* since its founding in 1897, author of a masterly novel of Jewish-American life, "The Rise of David Levinsky", as bitter an opponent of the Soviets as any Red-baiting Congressman, still is a power among the Eastern Socialists. In late years the socialism of the *Forward* has been liberally diluted and its pages frequently marred by hysterical attacks upon the Soviets. The paper has contributed thousands of dollars to labor and Socialist causes, however, and is still depended upon by New York Socialists to come to the rescue in financial crises, with which the party is abundantly endowed. Of its shrewd business manager, B. Charney Vladeck, a short biography has already appeared in THE WORLD TOMORROW. His ready wit, his prowess as a campaigner and his amazing money-raising capacity make him eagerly sought after as spokesman for what has sometimes been called "The New Socialism," a somewhat vague, surely lyrical program of "social justice" which inevitably fetches hesitant liberals.

Outstanding economist of the party and of the country as a whole, for that matter, is Harry Laidler. When Laidler came out of Wesleyan University in 1907, he stopped long enough to take a law degree from the Brooklyn Law School and a Ph.D. from Columbia and then went back to building up The Intercollegiate Socialist Society, of which he was one of the founders while still an undergraduate. For the rest of his busy life he has been digging up harsh facts to confront the beautiful theories of capitalism, first for the I.S.S. and now for the League for Industrial Democracy, its successor. Laidler's economic researches received recognition when he was recently elected President of the National Bureau of Economic Research for a two-year term. His works are a complete course in socialism, from his recent primer through such enlightening pamphlets as "How America Lives," "Unemployment and its Remedies," and the comprehensive "History of Socialist Thought," to the post-graduate "Concentration in American Industry." Laidler and Thomas make a formidable team. When Thomas goes before the bar to present the case for socialism, he can rely upon it that the brief work has been adequately done by the quiet little man back there in his offices on East 19th Street.

ALGERNON LEE, a scholarly-appearing figure, who roams the Rand School in New York where he has been Educational Director since 1909, has interpreted Karl Marx to the last obscure comma. One of his recent duties is to ferret out suspected heretics. Hillquit has let it be known that Lee's weekly contributions to the *New Leader* indicate what in Communist circles would be called "The Party Line." Let Lee sniff a deviation from orthodoxy and he pursues the deviator with the gusto of a Southern fundamentalist on the trail of a modernist. In this he has a belligerent ally in the person of James Oneal, editor of the *New Leader*. Oneal is generally regarded as the party's historian. He is an aggressive campaigner, a rather ponderous propagandist with the typewriter given to lengthy historical dissertations.

After the well-nigh fatal split of 1919, when the Left-wingers, with the repercussions of the Bolshevik Revolution in their ears, walked off with most of the party's youngsters, the Socialists were chiefly active in New York, Milwaukee and Reading and the party's activities were perforce left in the hands of the elder statesmen. In Reading, proletarian James Maurer, who went to work at the age of nine, had built up a strong political movement around the nucleus of his radical plumbers' union. As President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and at one time as member of the State Legislature, he never lost the chance to pound into his adoring Pennsylvania Dutch working-class following the need for independent political action. This dogged persistence of Jim and his faithful cohorts of the rank and file resulted in the capture of Reading by the Socialists in 1927, when John Henry Stump, long-headed manager of the Reading *Labor Advocate,* was elected mayor and Jim, alderman. Only a coalition of Republicans and Democrats succeeded in ousting the Socialists at the last election. The movement has grown steadily despite that set-back and it is a movement today, not a spasmodic upheaval as is so often the Socialist case, mainly because of the stubborn driving power that is in the stocky frame of Maurer. James Hudson Maurer is 68 years old, but this campaign finds him pulling up his sleeves over his red undershirt and "pouring it into" capitalism as vigorously as ever.

WHEN Victor Berger was killed by a street-car in Milwaukee, following his defeat for re-election to Congress in 1928, there were many who prophesied that with the passing of the bespectacled school-teacher and editor, the Milwaukee Socialist machine which he had so laboriously built up would fall to pieces. They had not reckoned with Daniel Webster Hoan, with Leo Krzycki, with the group associated with the Milwaukee *Leader* and the loyal rank and file of the city's hard-working Jimmy Higgenses. These, somewhat obscured by the looming shadow of Berger, were to come forward now that shadow had passed, with proof that the sort of municipal socialism practiced in Milwaukee was satisfactory to the majority of the citizens. Mayor Hoan at the last election received the largest vote ever cast for him in his 16 years as head of the city, and the number of Socialist office-holders in his administration was notably increased.

Dan Hoan, beneath the most affable of exteriors, has a grim way of driving inexorably for any goal which he sets for himself. He began his career as a

ook, resolved as he says, "to be the best cook ever"; ooked his way through college and law-school and hen came to Milwaukee to start and win the fight or Wisconsin's Workmen's Compensation Law, the rst enacted by any state. Then he decided to be- ome City Attorney and attained that office in 1910. After six years of this, he decided that the City Hall would make a good office. This he entered in 1916 nd has remained there ever since. Hoan is abund- ntly blessed with the spirit of comradeship, tolerance nd a rare humor which is by no means always present n the make-up of Socialist leaders. His socialism, to e sure, does not range widely. It is mainly concerned with honesty in government, just taxation and the pro- ection of the rights of the common man.

Life-long friend of Berger's, fighting on every So- ialist front from Milwaukee to the Texas Panhandle, y all odds the most colorful leader of the Socialists oday is Oscar Ameringer, dean of all the country's labor editors, now editor of the militant *American Guardian*. To write the life-story of Ameringer you would have to range from the days of the mystical Knights of Labor, which he joined as an immigrant youth, arriving from Germany with no English, a be- loved flute and fierce hatred for capitalism; follow him down the pioneering trails of the embattled 'Nine- ties," watch him at his organizing work in the South- west, go with him across the mining fields of the coun- try, see him stand four-square against the War, record, if you could, his inimitable Paul Bunyanesque sagas of the early days.

IN 1929 there began a movement of young men and women into the party which continues unabated and which gives its thoughtful supporters more cause for hope than crowded mass-meetings, increases in votes and nation-wide publicity. In New York the research- ing Louis Stanley and later the fiery Theodore Shapiro rallied around them a group of youngsters raising the slogan of "Socialism in our Time," impatient of the Fabianism of the elders (but thinly disguised under revolutionary phrases), rarin' to go. Soon, all across the country those who saw signs of the revival of the socialism of Debs and the early fighters were either renewing their memberships or taking out red cards for the first time. Prominent in the New York group of those who have been called "Militants" are the Delson brothers—Max, a brilliant orator and tac- tician and Robert, who lives his socialism 24 hours a day. There is the attractive and indefatigable Marion Severn, and Mary Hillyer, expert organizer, and Paul Porter who would far rather go out and talk to the farmers and coal-diggers of the Mid-West than make speeches on any college campus, though he has long been adept at reaching the undergraduate mind. There is J. B. Matthews, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a compelling speaker before the most divergent of audiences, and, of course, Paul Blanshard, whose labor and Socialist career is well worth a separate article.

In Philadelphia, Franz Daniel, come out of the shel- tered confines of Union Theological Seminary, goes joyously forth into the daily battles of the workers. There too, Andrew Biemiller and his wife Hannah, of Quaker extraction, alarm the "respectables" and de- light the rebellious by their unremitting labors for so- cialism. Up in Massachusetts, the hard-working, fear- less Alfred Baker Lewis has long been a star recruiting agent for the party. And over at Smith College, Pro- fessor Ralph Harlow is defying academic lightnings by his candidacy on the Socialist Party ticket. In Boston, Albert Sprague Coolidge, a newcomer on the National Executive Committee, upsets conservative apple-carts.

The name of Powers Hapgood, now of Indianapolis, another new executive of the party is already written large in recent labor history though he went into the coal-mines as a pick-miner, out of Harvard, no later than 1920. Hapgood and his wife, Mary Donovan, who proved her proletarian mettle during the days when she served on the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, are twin thorns in the side of any exploiter of labor. Whenever his beloved miners are embroiled in combat with the bosses, in all probability you will find the lithe figure of the young Harvard man in the forefront.

Out in Chicago, at this writing, a young man by the name of Clarence Senior, a perpetual source of be- wilderment to the veterans of the movement, is quietly going about his business of running a national Presi- dential campaign with practically empty coffers. When the old-timers first meet Senior, they exclaim, "What, that kid our National Secretary!"

At Senior's side these days is Edward Levinson, edi- tor of *America for All,* the Socialist campaign news- paper. Young Levinson is one of the ablest publicity men who ever persuaded an opposition press to print Socialist news. Ever since he was thrown out of high- school, not so many years ago, because of his forth- right radicalism, Levinson has been doing yeoman's work for the cause.

So all across the country, clear out to the Pacific Coast where William Busick keeps the red fires burn- ing, these younger workers are striking the roots of their Socialist philosophy deep down into American soil. They have the goal which 'Gene Debs kept be- fore him, the building of a nation-wide working-class movement, permeated with the Marxian ideal, militant and indigenous. If at times, in their enthusiasm, the newcomers may forget the heroic sacrifices made by those who first brought socialism to these shores, no fair-minded historian will fail to give the veterans their due. And within the party old and young alike may rejoice at the abundant evidences of the rebirth of socialism in the United States.

Non-Violence in Samoa

GRACE E. WILLS*

WHAT conceivable recourse is there for a supposedly independent people who are unhappy under a mandate imposed by the League of Nations? Such is the problem that faces the natives of the islands of Western Samoa, a free and proud Polynesian people who have suffered much under the administration of a mandate by New Zealand. Their chosen representative, a well-educated and very able man of Norwegian and Samoan blood, was not granted a hearing before the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, to which he had gone at his own expense. Apparently there is no provision for receiving representatives of the people of mandated territories, although the mandatory power reports annually. Petitions forwarded to the government of New Zealand, to Great Britain and to the League of Nations have been unproductive of results.

In their predicament of despair, therefore, all other avenues having been closed, the Western Samoan leaders have now turned to the Berlin Act of 1889, unforgotten at least by them, in which the United States, Great Britain and Germany guaranteed to them independence, autonomy and neutrality. They have forwarded from their lovely islands a petition to these three powers asking that they honor their solemn pledges.

Curiously enough, the comment of a few persons in responsible public office who have seen copies of this petition is that it is a pity the Samoans have turned to an agreement that existed before the mandate was conferred. That the Berlin Act has never been rescinded, and that the Samoans were not consulted in the disposition of the mandate, are facts which are ignored in such comment.

The Berlin Act was not altered or rescinded when in 1899 a slightly different arrangement was made among the three powers whereby Germany assumed a protectorate over the western group of Samoan Islands, and the United States over the eastern. For Western Samoa the period that followed was the happiest she had known since the days when the first white *papalangi* came to her shores. To this day the people remember Doctors Solf and Schultz, the successive German Administrators, with affection and respect. In their time Samoan life regained its idyllic rhythm. The natives' love of happiness, of pageantry, of song, of grace, was fully recognized, as were the intricate etiquette and customs of their race.

When the news of the Great War came, Dr. Schultz advised the Samoans to take no sides, for it was no quarrel of theirs. But in 1914 a New Zealand expeditionary force came north to take over the islands, and the Samoans found themselves being treated as though they were a conquered people. After Versailles, and the granting of a mandate to New Zealand "to be administered as a sacred trust for the Samoan people," a change was reputedly made from a military to a civil regime, but the hapless Samoans could see little difference in the policies of the two periods. Each successive administrator since that time has been a military man, imbued with the military psychology and method. There has been petty and unnecessary interference with the picturesque customs of the natives, and a strong attempt, still persisted in, to upset their ancient social and political system, so suited to their life and situation. The majority of the Samoans refused to abandon their ancestral ways and the human values which were more to them than the white man's dusty channels of commerce. They foresaw that to take to commerce and individualize their lands left no future for themselves save to become eventually mere labor for the white man on their own ancestral holdings—an undesirable plight to a people who throughout the generations had never known poverty in the European sense.

THE native opposition became articulate through the formation of the Mau, a league of the Samoans who protested their altered and depreciated status under the mandate without their own consent. The Mau has grown until it embraces ninety-five per cent of the people. As their only possible method of protest, they early formed a non-coöperation policy of their own. The movement from the first has been nonviolent. During the most acute period the exceedingly unsanitary jails were always overcrowded with political prisoners. It was sedition to belong to the Mau, although all that the Mau was asking was that the Administration sit down with them in the good old Polynesian way and discuss the seventeen points which they had listed as constituting their grievances, until they should arrive at a solution satisfactory to both sides.

As the trouble grew, many chiefs were deprived of their titles and banished from their homes, and even from their island, because they could not agree with the methods or demands of the Administration. Criticism was not allowed. Even white men were

* Grace E. Wills, born and reared in New Zealand, returned recently to her native country and has enjoyed the experience of intimate contact with the Samoan people.

nished for Mau sympathies. Samoan men were rrested and led through the streets of Apia with ppes around their necks, an extreme indignity in the ves of the natives.

The peak of tragedy was touched when the fine oung Samoan High Chief Tamasese was slain with even others in a police trap early one morning as he d a festive procession of his people, although an dministration permit for the procession had been btained. Besides those killed many were wounded in achine-gun fire. This event has since been described y some members of the New Zealand House of Rep esentatives and by other men and women prominent the public and professional life of that country as a rrible mistake; but the government paid no heed.

Although Tamasese was but twenty-seven when he as slain, he was exceptionally mature in judgment. He realized how fatal violent resistance would be to is people. As he lay dying he exacted from the chiefs nd leaders, as each came to bid him farewell, an oath hat they would see to it that the people kept the eace. Only this oath sustained the Samoans in the ark days of persecution which followed, days of virtual war upon an unarmed and passive people. Much they suffered in that year of 1930, and yet there was also much which those bright Samoans now recount with humor.

Within two years Tamasese has become a legend in the islands. Songs concerning him, his life and his dying words have been learned by heart and are sung by young and old throughout the islands. His story has entered into the long race-tradition of the people, as have also songs of their recent sufferings.

During the last year or so the trouble has abated. Both sides wait—the Mau in brooding silence. The New Zealand government, without doubt well-meaning but unfortunately embarked upon a mistaken policy, has thus far yielded in no respect. The Samoan people still may not meet in any kind of assembly, and police permits are required to go from one village to another. A new Administrator took up his duties a year ago, but he too has been following a waiting policy. Out of this silence in Western Samoa, unhappy granddaughter of the League of Nations, has issued the exceedingly complete petition just sent to our government as one of the signatories of the Berlin Act.

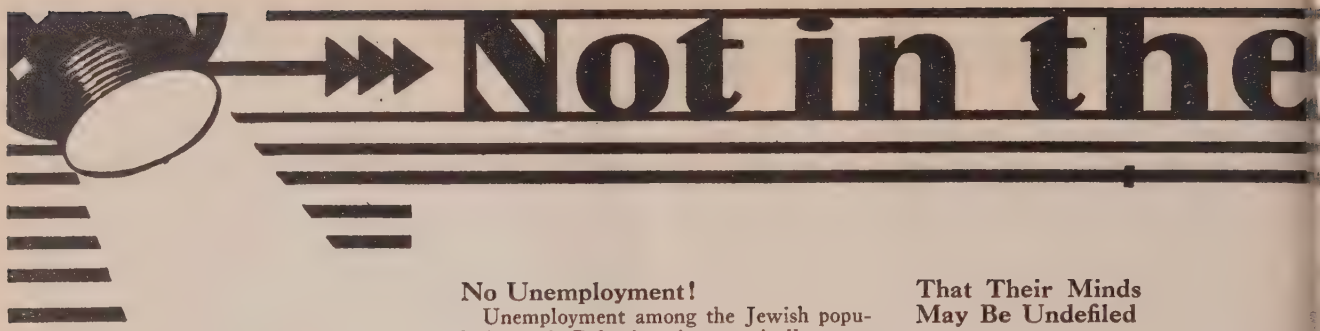
A Letter to a Revolutionary

I HOLD that the world is sick of armed rebellions. I hold too that whatever may be true of other countries, a bloody revolution will not succeed in India. The masses will not respond. A movement in which masses have no active part can do no good to them. A successful bloody revolution can only mean further misery for the masses. For it would be still foreign rule for them. The non-violence I teach is active non-violence of the strongest. But the weakest can partake in it without becoming weaker. They can only be the stronger for having been in it. The masses are far bolder today than they ever were. A non-violent struggle necessarily involves construction on a mass scale. It cannot therefore lead to *tamas* or darkness or inertia. It means a quickening of the national life. That movement is still going on silently, almost imperceptibly, but none the less surely.

I do not deny the revolutionaries the heroism and sacrifice. But heroism and sacrifice in a bad cause are so much waste of splendid energy and hurt the good cause by drawing away attention from it by the glamour of the misused heroism and sacrifice in a bad cause.

I am not ashamed to stand erect before the heroic and self-sacrificing revolutionary because I am able to pit an equal measure of non-violent men's heroism and sacrifice untarnished by the blood of the innocent. Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others. The willing sacrifice of the innocent is the most powerful retort to insolent tyranny that has yet been conceived by God or man.

I invite the attention of the revolutionaries to the three great hindrances to Swaraj—the incomplete spread of the spinning-wheel, the discord between Hindus and Mussalmans and the inhuman ban upon the suppressed classes. I ask them patiently to take their due share in this work of patient construction. It may not be spectacular enough. But on that very account it requires all the heroic patience, silent and sustained effort and self-effacement of which the tallest among the revolutionaries is capable. Impatience will blur the revolutionary's vision and lead him astray. Slow and inglorious self-imposed starvation among the starving masses is every time more heroic than the death on the scaffold under false exaltation.—*Mahatma Gandhi in Young India, February 12, 1925.*



Socialists Outline Plan for America

A detailed presentation of the Socialist "Plan for America" and three chapters dealing vigorously with the records of President Hoover and Governor Roosevelt feature the campaign textbook of the Socialist Party, now available at the Party's headquarters, 549 Randolph St., Chicago, at 10 cents per copy. Norman Thomas contributes a discussion of the Plan's practicality. Many other phases of the campaign are covered, with articles by a great variety of writers, including several of the editorial staff of THE WORLD TOMORROW.

Commissioner of Education Supports Militarism

A number of pacifists in Washington are protesting to the President against a statement by William John Cooper, United States Commissioner of Education, in support of military training in colleges.

"Fair" Harvard

Harvard University, which went through its scrubwomen's labor episode a few years ago, has again come into notice of labor observers. According to the Federated Press, labor news service, Harvard recently announced that it would not reduce this year professorial salaries, but already it has slashed the pay of waiters and bus boys in the Business School cafeteria.

Collegiate Autocracy

What is charged to be an attempt by the authorities of the College of the City of New York to suppress democratic student rule over student concerns, in refusing to accept as editor of the student paper the candidates offered by the student staff, is being protested by liberal student bodies throughout the region. The Young Peoples Socialist League in a resolution pledging their support to the insurgent members of the *Campus* staff, declare the purpose of the administration is to find an editorial group that will be servile to its conservative policies. "The function of the colleges is education; the primary purpose of education is to develop independent thinking," says the Y. P. S. L. "Today, however, we find that a general restriction of independent student expression is defeating this purpose."

No Unemployment!

Unemployment among the Jewish population of Palestine is practically nonexistent, writes a correspondent of the *Menorah Journal.*

Pacifism in Spain

To the other war resistance groups established in Spain since the revolution, including the Federation of Trade Unions in the province of Almeria, the War Resisters' International has added a new affiliate in a Barcelona workers' organization.

Transport Workers Favor Anti-War Strike

The Congress of the International Transport Workers' Federation, meeting at Prague, has voted in favor of a general strike in case of a declaration of war as a guiding principle of the organization. The vote was unanimous.

Methodists Grant Socialist Leave

The Methodist Board of Education has granted its secretary, the Reverend Roy L. Burt, leave of absence to wage his campaign for the governorship of Illinois on the Socialist ticket.

Competition a Luxury

Only five million cans of pineapple are to be marketed in Hawaii this year, as contrasted with 13 millions last year, due to a pooling arrangement entered into by growers and canners. "Supply and demand can be balanced without entanglement in the meshes of the law," is the belief of those who are responsible for this restriction of production.

Coöperation by Mail

General approval of the plan for a coöperative mail order house specializing in the products recommended by Consumers' Research, Inc., and aiming to distribute eventually only products under a national coöperative brand, such products to be produced under scientific formulae such as those furnished by Consumers' Research, Inc., was voted by the Eastern States Cooperative League and has been winning wide approval in many quarters. As explained in *Coöperation,* no goods would be stocked at the outset; orders would be taken and forwarded to manufacturers with whom discount arrangements would be made. As soon as practicable goods would be packaged under a brand signifying not only the coöperative reliability of the house but also the whole viewpoint of coöperation.

That Their Minds May Be Undefiled

Members of Hitler's party in Germany are forbidden to buy or read any newspaper other than party organs, or to attend movies where films hostile to the Fascists are shown. They are also ordered to enlist non-party support for the boycott of the anti-Hitler press.

A Call for Dr. Laissez-Faire!

Appeals to Governor Rolph are being made by the Associated Bakers of Southern California to investigate the price war now raging among California bakers. The appeal maintains that "merciless price-cutting will result in wholesale failures unless officials act." In Los Angeles the pound loaf is selling for two cents, and in some places "bread is being given away with a bottle of catsup."

N. A. A. C. P. Asks Cleveland Survey

A survey of the Central High School in Cleveland, to improve its work and to include members of white and colored races on its faculty, has been demanded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The demands include formation of a parent-teacher association, appointment of a qualified colored man as assistant principal, and other administrative changes. Further recommendations include a more liberal policy at other city schools.

New England Farm Taxes

New England, under Republican rule in most rural communities, has increased its farm real estate taxes 150 per cent between 1913 and 1930, says the Department of Agriculture, after a survey of 4,000 farms. In the northwest central group of states the rise has been 151 per cent and in the northeast central group 140 per cent in the same period.

International Socialist Youth Week

The period from October 2 to 9 was celebrated in 28 countries by 270,000 young workers marking the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the International Socialist Youth Union at Stuttgart in 1907. In their celebrations these youths are emphasizing a four-point crusade: 1. Abolition of child labor. 2. Elimination of military training courses. 3. Living wage and unemployment insurance for young workers. 4. Total disarmament and abolition of causes of war.

Headlines

atus Quo Ante-Fast

Mahatma Gandhi is now being denied iterviews with his fellow non-coöperators ho are confined in Yerovda prison and ith Indian leaders from the outside.

onsolidation in the Air

Six major air lines have now been comned to form the General Air Express. he total flying mileage exceeds 16,000 ily, and offers package express service tween most important centers throughut the Continent.

lore Than a Million and a Half

The paid circulation of the *Daily erald,* the official organ of the British rades Union Congress and the British abor Party, is now 1,565,000, an inrease of 345,000 within about one year.

Iontana Labor Endorses homas

The official organ of the Montana tate Federation of Labor is vigorously upporting the Socialist ticket, saying: The only way in the coming election in hich a man will not throw away his vote s by casting his ballot for Norman homas."

he High-handed Military

Traffic policemen of Bucharest, Rumania, acting under orders, recently eized, without any warning, private automobiles and motorcycles regarded as uitable for military use in the army maneuvers scheduled for October 2. In many instances drivers were taken off and he trucks unloaded in the streets and riven away. Owners were simply given cknowledgements entitling them to call or their cars when the maneuvers were ver.

Union Wages Slipping

Union rates of wages are going down ill badly, as a result of the three years of epression. Not only have employers cut vages, but unions have accepted cuts in vage rates in order to hold jobs for their nembers. Hours of labor have not dereased in proportion. This is the situaion disclosed by preliminary returns of a urvey made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Of 684 comparisons made, 337 howed wage reductions, 33 had no hange, and 14 showed wage increases. There were 619 cases of no change in vorking hours, 58 reductions in full-time vorking hours, and 7 increases of working ours per week.

Capitalist Efficiency

Of 612 bankrupt businesses, 80 of which were food stores, that were studied in New Jersey by the Department of Commerce, it was found that "poor business methods and practices" was the chief cause of failure: 29.4 percent kept inadequate books, and 23.5 percent kept no books at all. Says *Coöperation,* "Of the food stores, 19, or 26 percent, kept no books, and 27, or 37 percent, kept inadequate books."

Less Publicity This Time

The minimum wage rate has been reduced to four dollars per day by the Ford Motor Company for those fortunate enough to have retained a job, as compared with five dollars per day nearly 20 years ago. Ford employees are now averaging three or four days per week, the company reports.

Gold Mining at Dollar Per Day

The pressure of unemployment is so great that some 12,000 persons in California are engaged in gold mining on a small scale, with average earnings of one dollar per day, reports the Director of National Resources of the State of California.

Unpatriotic Patriots

The action of a delegation of the Daughters of the American Revolution in engaging passage on a French liner rather than on an American ship was recently denounced by Basil Harris, vice-president of the Roosevelt Steamship Company, of which Kermit Roosevelt is president.

Socialist Premier

M. Hanson, leader of the Social-Democrats in Sweden, has become Premier. The representation of the various parties is as follows: Social-Democrats, 104; Conservatives, 58; Agrarians, 36; Liberals, 4; People's Party, 20; Swedish Communist Party, 6; International Communists, 2.

Toward Church Union

Returns from a questionnaire sent out by the Institute of Social and Religious Research indicate a marked growth in sentiment for church union. Of the total replies, only 29 per cent favor continuance of the present denominational order; 32 per cent endorse federal union of the churches; and 32 per cent favor general union. The Lutherans who replied were the least sympathetic toward union, and the Disciples of Christ most favorable.

Austrian Servants' Pensions

The Austrian National Council has adopted a bill amending the act providing for old-age pensions to reduce the benefit age of domestic servants from 60 to 55 years. A proposal by the Socialists to raise the rates at the same time, was defeated by the conservative majority.

High Point Strike Settlement

The strike of the Stehli silk mill at High Point, N. C., which has been marked by police brutality to girls and women, has been settled, according to the Federated Press, by an agreement which provides for a 19 per cent increase in wages but affords no protection to the active workers in the strikers' ranks.

Unemployed But Not Idle

Free courses in engineering, history, economics, government, law and other subjects are being offered by Lafayette College to unemployed men over 30 years of age. The college authorities believe the plan will enable men to fill their enforced leisure time in a worth-while manner and that it will give them an opportunity for greater usefulness in the future.

Union Leader on Milwaukee Board

John Banachowitz, president of the local branch of the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, has been appointed to the police commission by Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee. The significance of the appointment lies in the fact that labor is seldom if ever represented on police forces, leading to unfairness and accumulated resentments.

Group Medical Care

That economies have been effected through a group-purchase system of medical care in a typical American industrial community of 10,000—Roanoke Rapids—was disclosed in a report made public by the Committee on Medical Care. Those participating in the system received a much larger volume of medical service than they could afford through the conventional fee-for-service form of payment. Small fixed periodic payments, according to the report, supplemented by funds from employers which pay the salaries of physicians and visiting nurses, have enabled the first group, mill workers and their dependents, with an average income of $1,274 per family, to obtain more medical service than is ordinarily obtained by families with incomes of $10,000 and over.

Modern Apocalypticism

E. G. HOMRIGHAUSEN*

WE are again living in an apocalyptic age. Such times in which people looked for something momentous, almost terrible, to happen have frequently occurred in the history of religion and of Christianity. The Old Testament reveals such periods. When Jesus appeared there was a mysterious stir in the air that was pregnant with the idea that something very imminent might break forth at any time. Undoubtedly Jesus used this apocalypticism as a vehicle through which to convey his message to the world. The first Christian century was such an age. And they have recurred again and again.

The root of apocalypticism is its faith in a supernatural world which is secretly immanent in this world, and which can be expected to break into it with judgment to bring low the old imprisoning order and to recreate and establish the new.

Now this faith is legitimate: it inheres in the very fabric of historic Christianity. But it has had a difficult time to keep alive in the Christian community. When the Church becomes an official Church, thereby receiving social and cultural status, it forgets its radical, apocalyptic faith. When it makes itself at home in the world, alters its theology to conform to monistic standards, thinks of its social ethics entirely in terms of cultural development and adjustment, it loses its apocalyptic faith. In every instance the Church has lost its faith when its undergirding and sustaining religion of transcendence has been made a this-worldly and compromising culturalism, historism, mysticism or ethicalism. Whenever the Church has lost this radical faith, there have been sects aplenty to rebuke it back to its true task by anti-worldly preaching and ascetic living. But most of these rebuking sects suffered at the hands of the official Church. Most of the medieval persecutions were carried on by a pompous, rich, cultural Church against the sects that would call it back by cathartic methods to its poor, humble, sacrificing and self-effacing Christ.

We are again living in an apocalyptic time. How many are fearful about the outcome of the modern world! The economic structure has become so complex that the average man can scarcely know its workings. And even the giants in business sometimes seem to make grave errors in their calculations. How terrible was the fall of the house of Krueger! The situation in Germany with its attendant international consequences is such as to make one worry about the future of the West. The defiance of Japan towa China and the United States is another "danger zo that makes even residents in America uneasy over outcome. Things seem to bulk so large that they ha gotten out of human control. It is no wonder tha new apocalypticism is being preached among groups unemployed—the "Marxian Chiliasm," which expe by some imminent and mysterious power to bring change in the social order. Sects are growing and s ting up their tabernacles, most of which are preachi the "time of the end." Those who have been victi of our highly centralized capitalistic order will tell y that they see no way out and that something dras must be done or something more terrible will happ But all the present remedies that are applied by t powers in control seem only to postpone the final d of reckoning, for the measures now inaugurated o skim the surface in the hope that if we save the fin cial structure we may save the people!

WHAT is a Christian to do today? What *can* do? He sees that his best efforts avail v little in the solution of the Japanese situation. sides, what can the United States say to Japan wh she herself has utilized the same methods in graspi territory from helpless peoples in times past? C we say anything at all to Japan as long as the wo is ruled by the *laissez faire* theory, which is nothi more than allowing selfishness to work itself out, unc very broad limits. Besides, Japan has a case. W is wise enough to say whether in the light of t standards the world is accustomed to, she is right wrong? How much pressure can the Christian bri to bear upon the German, yes the European, situatio It seems that all ideologies are now futile. We a reaping the harvest of a technologically trained a whose scientific education has brought it directly in the camp of the materialists. As a man, high trained, said to me the other day, "The study of ide is today most futile, it is out of date. It is deeds, ac scientific inventions that now are going to contro How like Lenin!

What shall the Christian do? His voice is wea and even if it joins a chorus of kindred voices, it indeed small and insignificant in the face of the gigan man of the world with his cult of self-aggrandizeme gunboats, wealth, profit, prestige! He may lend hand to minor tasks of relieving the situation for tho who have been crushed by the Juggernaut. But as far doing anything positive is concerned—what can he d

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here are some radical judgments that must come be-
re anything new and permanent can result. The
ain question is, Is it in man's power to make these
dgments? Can he create them, or stay them off?
A large question mark will have to be placed be-
nd much of the effort that is being expended by those
us who were trained in the social gospel. Perhaps
e are the victims of a selfishness ourselves, a selfish-
ss that believes that it is entirely within our power,
it is our duty, to set things right alone. That may
a form of perfectionism that is self-defeating. And
may be a form of doubt that does not sufficiently
ke into consideration the fact of God's sovereignty.
y doing so much we deny the world beyond, we take
ings into our own hands as though we were sover-
gn. Perhaps the social gospel needs to revive the
odern equivalent of the apocalyptic hope!

This appeal may not indeed suit the optimistic social
ospeler of the day, whose Hegelian idealism and be-
ef in the inevitable coming of the Kingdom in terms
f culture has become a religion. He will resent apoc-
lypticism's implications of a dualism with its attend-
nt asceticism, other-worldliness, immortality, future
ingdom, etc. But can he escape it? It is not a ques-
on of whether apocalypticism is advantageous or dis-
dvantageous to one's peculiar system of belief. The
ain question is whether it is true or not!

BUT the dualism inherent in apocalypticism is not absolute. On the contrary, apocalypticism is ighly optimistic about the Kingdom's coming on arth, out of the social order of the world. However, may mean that the Kingdom will be an altered orld, quite unlike the world of today; yet it will be restoration, a true fulfilment. Apocalypticism does ot imply premillenialism either, with its wild fanatic-sm, its materialistic conception of heaven, its ramp-nt literalism, its false anactivism, its attempt to set he time and the date for the coming of the Kingdom. On the contrary, apocalypticism is highly hopeful for he world of men, because it believes that in, with and nder all the events of history there is the correcting nd the synthesizing will of God, judging and con-emning the old, even as it creates and brings the new nto emergence. It believes that the final word is with God. It believes that when things look their worst we ay take it as a judgment, a flood, a purging with fire f the old structure. It is the wind of a righteous God eeking to bring back a cosmic equilibrium by sweep-ng away with a terrible fall the house that was built pon sand. It does not believe that materialism has he last word, or that our efforts alone can bring a orld of peace and harmony into existence. It be-ieves that God does make the wrath of men to sing His praise, and that God does sit in the heavens and augh at the foolish efforts of men to get around His overeign will.

APOCALYPTICISM'S chief emphasis is not upon the fantastic, wild emotionalism, the mistaken literalism of the premillenialist, but upon the fact of a sovereign God, who is not finally controlled by his creation. He *is* bringing the Kingdom to pass. It *is* coming, whether men want it to or not. And as for Christians—they cannot build it; all they can do is to prepare the way for it by preaching and repentance. There is but one way into the Kingdom and that is through receptivity, through the humble and contrite heart. In these days it is good for us to acknowledge with contrition that things have gotten beyond our control through our own folly and to pray more fervently, "Thy Kingdom Come"—and as we do, to stand by and see the works of God. Certainly we must educate people! We must bring every fact to light, for only by intelligent repentance can be prepare the way. In the meantime we can carry on a reckless attack on our mammonized society.

The book of revelation is an apocalyptic book. It was written in evil days, when the little Christian groups seemed helpless against the Roman Empire that was mammonism and seculiarism and materialism incarnate. The book is certainly none which a premillenialist can quote for a literal proof of the early destruction of the world! The main theme of the book is the fact of the Living Christ, who is the Lord of life and history, with whom even Rome will have to deal, as will every society that is built upon her false philosophy. The comfort of the book is that God is still upon the throne, and that through the breaking of the seals, the blowing of the trumpets and the outpouring of the bowls of wrath, all of which originate in heaven (certainly not an ethereal place but rather a world of sovereign reality) there results upon the earth those divine correctives which like fire purge the earth of the old and make way for the ever-new. It is a dramatic and picturesque presentation of faith's Christian philosophy of history. Its real meaning for us today is that when we seem utterly helpless to hinder a society from the crucifixion of the innocent and the true—that even then we can look to God whose will brings men to judgment when they persist in living by false standards. Babylon does fall!

It is good to know that not only the *staff,* but the *rod* of God can comfort us. A Christian in these days is of all people the most optimistic, because he knows the black judgment of God. He alone can envisage the sure coming of the eternal City out of the creative hands of God. He waits as he labors faithfully at his task. He knows that when conditions look blackest, when the judgment falls hardest and confusion reigns fullest among the Babel-builders who have been frustrated—he knows that even then the new is being born in the hearts of the faithful remnant, they who shall inherit the glorious future.

The Book End

With occasional exceptions important enough to merit drasti criticism, THE WORLD TOMORROW *reviews only books which believes, after careful evaluation, are of genuine worth*

Parliamentary Revolution

The Coming of a New Party. By Paul H. Douglas. McGraw-Hill. $2.00.

THE first part of this book deals with present conditions in the United States which call for a new political alignment and with the objects which a new party would try to achieve. The passing of the era of individualism and the coming in of large-scale production and concentration of ownership and control, are set forth in the opening chapter. The next discusses the immediate needs of labor which are not met by the old political parties, namely, security through social insurance, protective legislation in such matters as wages and hours, and legislation legalizing the position and activities of unions and eliminating the yellow-dog contract and injunctions. This is followed by what seems to the reviewer a remarkably clear and convincing statement of the farm situation and possible remedies. Various forms of export dumping as measures of relief for the farmer are mercilessly taken to pieces and in their place are advocated reduction of tariffs and revision of taxation, placing the burden on income, inheritances and unearned increment on land.

Chapter Four, which deals with the interests of citizens and consumers, discusses the power issue, housing, the possibility of stabilizing the price level as a means for preventing depressions, and a program for international peace and cooperation. The section dealing with the economic planning fad comes to the conclusion that if the beginnings toward a genuine planned economy are to be made, "they must be carried through over the opposition of the capitalists themselves . . . a truly planned economy is almost impossible under capitalism and only practical under socialism."

Solid and useful as most of this material is, the second section of the book, which deals with the tactics which should be followed in forming a new party, and the tactics which that party itself would employ, is more interesting, direct and fresh. The analysis of the difficulties in the way of organizing a new party with the governmental set-up we have in the United States; the description of how the Republican and Democratic parties in the various states and big cities are actually composed and managed and the consequent impossibility of capturing them for a genuinely progressive program; the dilemmas which hopelessly involve those who try to "bore from within" the old parties (if they lose in the primaries of one of the old parties they must either support reactionary candidates whom they abhor or bolt the party and lose the supposed advantages of "boring from within"; they "capture" the Democratic party in one state and the Republican in another and so cancel their efforts in the national field); how a new party would arouse genuine enthusiasm and exert appreciable pressure on "the interests," even while still small—all this is set forth in a series of picturesque, comprehensive and well-documented chapters which all advocates of independent political action should find indispensable.

The final chapter emphasizes the need for local organization ar activity as against mere presidential campaign fireworks. Th Socialist Party, it opines, is not itself the new mass party an probably never will be because of prejudice against the wo "socialism," and because papal encyclicals have made it almost im possible for Catholics to join the Socialist Party. The new part should in no case be a rival or opponent of the S. P. New part advocates should for the present support Norman Thomas fo president and the Socialist Party should eventually "occupy ap proximately the same position inside the American movement tha the I.L.P. occupied for so long within the British Labor Party.

Working out the relation of the new party to the trade union will, it is pointed out, be difficult. Dishonest trade union leader may try to use the party for their own sinister purposes if it show promise, so that "an honest labor party will find it absolutely im perative to fight off the pirates in the trade union movement wh will try to board the ship." However, some union bodies ma affiliate. Primarily, the author believes, the party will be built u and controlled by individual dues-paying members who organiz local branches "from the grass roots up" and from which the dis trict, state and national organizations will develop. He sees, how ever, the connection between economic and political organizatio stating that "experience has demonstrated that the workers mus be organized in unions in the economic field if they are to be col lectively articulate in political matters." Because of the disruptiv tactics of the Communists, the author believes that all member of the Communist Party should be made ineligible for membershi in the new party.

The book is open to little criticism, is indeed worthy of all prais —so far as it goes. But the fact that it does not go far enough i in this case a very serious shortcoming. Let me illustrate. Doug las recognizes that political parties represent economic interests A new party is needed because there is a conflict of interest be tween the producers (and consumers) and the exploiters, and a present both major parties represent the exploiting interests. Fur thermore, the author recognizes that the capitalists as a class ar going to be very tenacious of their position and privileges. Afte discussing certain reforms in the field of credit control, for ex ample, he concludes: "It is impossible to believe, however, that th business men of the country will ever voluntarily permit such radical curtailment of their present powers so long as they ar economically and politically dominant." His weapon for meetin this situation, however, is the building of a political party whic will replace the Democratic Party, become the second (progressive party as opposed to the conservative Republicans, and eventuall by outvoting the party of the plutocrats introduce a planned eco nomic system to be operated in the interest of the masses.

This party will be to the right of the present Socialist Party, ac cording to Douglas, for he envisages the Socialist Party as it spear-head. He regards the Socialist Party itself as far fron

volutionary, hailing the fact that it has abolished "the former quirement for membership that one must believe in the class ruggle," and that it is no longer liable to be swept away by xtremists. He mentions Norman Thomas, Morris Hillquit, scar Ameringer, James H. Maurer and Daniel Hoan with approval as national leaders of the party, omitting all reference to P. militants and Left-wingers. The new party, he urges furthermore, must be sustained by a great dynamic. And what is hat dynamic to be? The answer is, "faith in the ultimate power f democratic methods."

He recognizes that this assertion raises a momentous question. Ultimate failure is possible. He does not believe that "such need e the fate of our democracy. If men will but organize intelliently we can still obtain social change without catastrophe." The book ends, however, on this ominous note: "We do not have uch time to lose." Beyond that there is no discussion of the remendous issue which has been raised.

If this book were an academic essay on politics in America, it ight be argued that it simply deals with the question: Assuming hat we can solve our problem by democratic, parliamentary methds, how shall we go about it? But this is not an academic essay; t presents a practical program on which the author calls upon rogressives and radicals to unite. To dismiss from such a discussion consideration of the question whether the economic problems of the twentieth century can be solved with the methods of ighteenth-century democracy, seems to me a serious shortcoming. Does a realist like Paul Douglas believe, after the record of Labor nd Social Democratic parties in Europe since the war, that a party well to the right of these can meet the needs of the masses n the foremost stronghold of capitalism and imperialism? If he loes, we are certainly justified in calling for evidence to support he faith that is in him. Furthermore, to assume that if we follow the method employed by these parties we are obtaining "social change without catastrophe," is utterly unwarranted. Because of the methods and policies pursued by these parties the masses of Europe and of the world were plunged into the catastrophe of the Great War. They have been kept in sore straits ever since and today they are being constantly threatened with a fresh plunge into disaster.

If we are to build a labor party adequate to cope with the conditions in the United States in the third decade of the twentieth century, much more careful consideration must be given than this book gives to the question of developing a truly effective left-wing to work within it. Secondly, much more careful consideration must be given to the question of whether drastic changes in our governmental and political institutions must not be made if we are to have a genuine, and not a sham, democracy. In the third place, the fact that there is a class struggle, whether we like it or not, will have to be faced. A labor party must be regarded as one of the weapons in that struggle and judged by its efficacy as such. The daily struggle of the workers, employed and unemployed, will have to receive more emphasis than is here accorded and be clearly recognized as more fundamental than party activity in the narrower sense. The fact that the task before us is a revolutionary one will have to be squarely faced, and those who are impressed by the risks involved in the use of large-scale violence, especially in advanced industrial communities, must ask themselves what nonviolent methods are available which promise to be more efficacious than the purely parliamentary methods employed thus far have proven to be.

A. J. MUSTE

Rebels and Renegades

Rebels and Renegades. By Max Nomad. Macmillan Company. 430 pages. $3.00.

A VERY interesting phenomenon of radical politics is the frequency with which leaders of labor parties are alienated from the cause of the workers and imbibe the spirit of nationalism and the social attitudes of the more privileged groups. *Rebels and Renegades* is a most fascinating study of the lives of a number of these turncoats. Briand, Scheidemann, MacDonald, and Pilsudski are a few of the more prominent Socialists turned conservative whom the author dissects. His analysis ought to be carefully studied by parliamentary Socialists. While the Communist charge that they are "social fascists" is a foolish one, it is nevertheless true that parliamentary socialism, with its necessary collaboration with non-socialist parties, presents a tremendous peril to Socialist leaders, which only the strongest and purest can overcome. They are not only taken into governments but they sometimes become the heads of governments, and they begin to consort, in an unreconstructed society, with kings, potentates and the lords and ladies of the financial and social aristocracy. They imbibe new social attitudes and prejudices from these and play truant to the needs of the toilers who raised them to power. The frequency with which this has happened proves that we are dealing with something more than the merely incidental weaknesses of occasional leaders.

These leaders are not only tempted to qualify the rigor of their radicalism by the social viewpoints of more privileged groups, but they are easily led astray by national sentiment. Nations always desire social peace more than anything else and they are not particularly concerned about the injustice which may be involved in this peace. They do not want anyone to disturb the *status quo*. The statesman who imbibes the national spirit of a patriotic community, even if he began as a radical, may thus find himself depriving workers of the right to strike because it is supposedly not in the interest of national peace. Thus when Briand was only a labor politician he argued with great persuasive charm in defense of the syndicalist doctrine of the general strike. But when he became a prime minister he stopped a peaceful railroad strike by the use of troops against the workers and by conscripting the workers into the army. He defended himself by insisting that the liberties of the workers were not as primary as the nation's right to live and to preserve not only its life but its "dignity and pride." Nothing could reveal more clearly how quickly the spirit of nationalism may destroy the clear vision of labor statesmen. Ramsay MacDonald's capitulation to the banks in 1931 on the theory that the life of England was imperiled is another case in point.

The author inclines to believe that this perennial betrayal is always the apostasy of intellectuals who use labor to rise to power and then abandon the labor cause. He envisages a future in which labor will carry through a revolution entirely without the leadership of intellectuals and be immune to the consequences of their treason. That is probably not the answer to the problem. Lenin, who remained a rather rigorous proletarian strategist to the end of his days, was convinced that labor could not achieve a revolution without help from the intellectuals. But he was also certain that this leadership would have to be organically related to the proletarian cause. The cases of apostasy which Mr. Nomad mentions present one of the most important problems which parliamentary socialism and the evolutionary method have yet to solve.

R. N.

CORRESPONDENCE

By Air Mail From the Front

THIS war between Paraguay and Bolivia is a diminutive affair if one thinks of it in contrast with the Great War or with wars between nations of millions of inhabitants such as China and Japan, yet in the conflict are all the elements which go to make up any war, even though one country has a population of only three millions and the other is but a third of that size.

The dispute for Paraguay is the question of settling a boundary line; for Bolivia it is the question of acquiring territory and a port that will be an outlet to the sea. Paraguay is willing to arbitrate but Bolivia has been more hesitant, and has, by her attitude, led the world at large to believe that it is probably because she has felt she could be more sure of getting what she wanted by force, since at this time she has more confidence in her military strength than ever before.

To support her belief Paraguay's chief arguments are that she has documents to prove that El Chaco has been governed from Asunción by rulers of both State and Church through almost four centuries; that all the development of the region has been by Paraguay; that in the Hayes Arbitration Treaty her rights to the country as far south as the river Pilcomayo, which now makes the boundary between Argentina and Paraguay, were definitely recognized.

According to Paraguay, it was not until 1852 that Bolivia made any pretense of claiming the land; and after the war of the Triple Alliance, when the Hayes Treaty was agreed upon, Bolivia made no protest. Paraguay also contends that it has only been during the last quarter of a century that Bolivia has been really concerned with the Chaco, and only in the last decade that she has been actively building forts and working toward control. However, today all Bolivians are absolutely convinced that the Chaco is theirs and that Paraguay's development of it is purely to lay claim to it and take it from Bolivia.

The Chaco itself is a low, swampy, densely-wooded area, half the size of France, parts of it under water some months of the year and tragically dry in other seasons. There is a certain amount of development along the banks of the Paraguay River and in the interior, where the Menonite colonies have been established by an agreement made by the League of Nations with the government of Paraguay. The chief inhabitants of the Chaco, however, are mosquitoes and insects of every variety that can make life difficult.

But El Chaco is supposed to be rich in petroleum, and this undoubtedly increased the enthusiasm for ownership on the part of both countries, even though the development will be a difficult one and in a far distant future. Bolivia has already leased three million hectares of land in Bolivia proper to the Standard Oil, although no development is going on there at present. For years Bolivia has been bitter over the loss of her port on the Pacific which Chile took in 1879, leaving her an inland country.

All the usual war propaganda is at work: both countries are hunting spies, both are believing untruths about each other. While I was in Paraguay they were shocked by the word that Bolivia had mutilated and burned one of the Paraguayan prisoners; today's paper tells of a meeting of protest in Bolivia over the fearfully cruel treatment of Bolivian prisoners; Paraguay again claims that Bolivia has bombed a hospital, Bolivia that Paraguay will not cease fighting long enough to let them bury their dead. Bolivia believes that Paraguay's soldiers are nothing but savages; Paraguay speaks with disdain of "those cholos" and so on and c And some of us who know them both think of the people of cu ture and charm that we have met in La Paz and Asunción, a realize again what war does to minds. However, it was interes ing in Asunción, to attend two meetings held in crowded theatr one where a distinguished scholar presented Paraguay's leg rights to the Chaco, the other where a student of internation affairs spoke on arbitration, talking of the League of Natio explaining the organization of the World Court.

Among the facts or fiction is the belief in the Argentine that t United States oil interests are backing Bolivia, that the Unit States is permitting the sale and shipment of arms, and that if t States had not made such huge loans to Bolivia she could nev have become so military in spirit, for she would not have had t money that she needed to take the aggressive steps she has take Considerable feeling against the United States has been arouse all of which goes to prove how interrelated we are.

Both countries talk of the "dignity" and the "honor" of countr which must be maintained—but one wonders whether it is wort it at such a cost. However, since the world has built up suc ideas of patriotism and has created the belief that it is force tha makes for world recognition, history continues to repeat itself i far away countries in the heart of the South American continen And as we look on, far enough away for perspective yet nea enough to know details of what is happening, the utter stupidit of it all stands out in bold relief. One wishes that there wer leaders in both Bolivia and Paraguay who would speak forth a Bartolomé Mitre did years ago in the Argentine. The story that before the boundary line between Chile and the Argentin had been settled, the students came one night to Mitre asking tha they might go to defend their rights and fight Chile. He came ou on his balcony to reply to them with the words: "The way t serve your country is to go home and work for it. There isn't rock of the Cordillera that is worth the shedding of a drop o your young blood."

Buenos Aires, Argentina — ANNE GUTHRIE

This Week's Anniversary

EUGENE O'NEILL

Born October 16, 1888

Hell in de stokehole? Sure! It takes a man to work in hell. Hell, sure, dat's my fav'rite climate. I eat it up! I git fat on it! It's me makes it hot! It's me makes it roar! It's me makes it move! Sure, on'y for me everything stops. It all goes dead, get me? . . . I'm at de bottom, get me! Dere ain't nothin' foither. I'm de end! I'm de start! I start somep'n and de woild moves! It—dat's me!—de new dat's moiderin' de old! I'm de ting in coal dat makes it boin; I'm steam and oil for de engines; I'm de ting in noise dat makes yuh hear it; I'm smoke and express trains and steamers and factory whistles; I'm de ting in gold dat makes it money! And I'm what makes iron into steel! I'm steel—steel—steel! I'm de muscles in steel, de punch behind it! (As he says this he pounds with his fists against the steel bunks. All the men roused to a pitch of frenzied self-glorification by his speech, do likewise. There is a deafening, metallic roar, through which YANK'S voice can be heard bellowing) Slaves, hell! We run de whole woiks. All de rich guys dat tink dey's somep'n, dey ain't nothin'! Dey don't belong. But us guys, we're in de move, we're at de bottom, de whole ting is us!—From *The Hairy Ape*.

NNOUNCEMENTS

Manumit Opens New Term

MANUMIT SCHOOL, at Pawling, N. Y., will open on October 3, but pupils will be accepted for some time after t date. Founded by William and Helen Fincke, Manumit is experimental school primarily for children of workers, which ill be loyal to the aims of organized labor and faithful to the ientific spirit in modern education." Children from the ages of to thirteen will be accepted.

Manumit has been fortunate in securing as Director for the thcoming school year Alexis Ferm, long an outstanding figure the world of experimental education.

Employing the Movies for Peace

THE newly-organized Peace Films Foundation will formally launch its undertaking with the first showing of the film Must War Be?" at the Town Hall, New York, on October 13. he Foundation, under the directorship of Walter Niebuhr, was eated to employ visual education in the promotion of interna- nal good-will and the stimulation of peace efforts among the unger generation. The first of the organization's films is a ronological history of the peace movement from the days of oodrow Wilson down to the latest Geneva Conference. After ie showing at Town Hall the film will be released to various ace groups throughout the country. Inquiries concerning the oundation's plans may be addressed to their offices at 150 Fifth venue, New York.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, TC., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE WORLD OMORROW, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1932.

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Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, ersonally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according law, deposes and says that he is the Executive Editor of THE WORLD OMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the rculation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above aption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal aws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, nd business managers are: Publisher, The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Van- erbilt Ave., N. Y.; Editors, Kirby Page, Devere Allen, Reinhold Niebuhr, aul H. Douglas, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Executive Editor, A. Albert Mac- eod, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y.; Managing Editor, none; Business Manager, one.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address ust be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of tockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. f not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual wners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated oncern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, ust be given.) The World Tomorrow, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Ave., N. Y. C. (a non- tock corporation); John Nevin Sayre, 383 Bible House, N. Y. C., President; Vice-President, none; Dorothy Detzer, 1805 H St., N.W., Washington, D. C., Secretary; Kenneth E. Walser, 52 Wall St., N. Y. C., Treasurer.

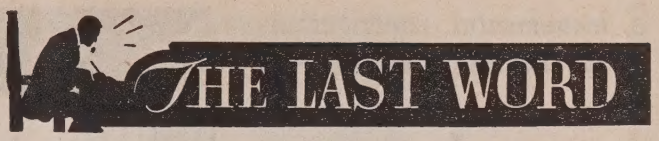
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders own- ng or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or ther securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, tockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stock- olders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company ut also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the ooks of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name f the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also hat the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowl- dge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, associa- tion, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is..... (This infor- mation is required from daily publications only.)

A. ALBERT MACLEOD,
Executive Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 23rd day of September, 1932.
(Signed) EDITH HOLTMAN,
(Commission expires March 30, 1934.)
Notary Public, New York Co., N. Y.
Certificate filed in N. Y. Co., No. 116. N. Y. County Register's No. 4H231.



POLITICAL ingenuity, like the old parties themselves, seems to be running pretty low. Mr. Hoover's aides can find no better way of proving his desperate interest in the unemployed than to show him in the movies with fishing boots, outing clothes, a creel, a pole, and that puckered smile. Or else cantering down a shady lane (the adjective is good) on horseback—suggestive, faintly, of not swapping steeds while falling over a cliff. Mr. Roosevelt's claims to consideration as a leader qualified to unravel economic problems across the seas is attested by a close-up of him in swimming in the great pool on his estate. The Connecticut Democrats have captured Gene Tunney, winning him first by vague promises of possible office, then suggesting that it might be best to use him merely for speeches—so they are called —particularly to women's groups, where Gene seems to exert a magnetic influence. Since Mr. Tunney was never previously interested enough to be made a voter in the state where he has resided for several years, nobody can say that he comes to political fisticuffs stale from overtraining. Hoover, too, has decided that the prize ring affords good symbolism, announcing that he is to make his campaign addresses between rounds of his fight against the depression. This constitutes the first time to anybody's knowledge that the Great White House Hope had ever used any weapon against the depression except incantations. I am fully prepared to believe the rumor that Herbert will write his talks this year on gelatine sheets so it will be easier than hitherto to eat his words.

▶

PRETTY soon, reports state, we shall be able to be sanitary with the Democrats. This is real news. Cakes of castile (you know where to put the accent) are to be available, covered with dainty red, white, and blue wrappers bearing the slogan, "Clean Up America with Democratic Soap." Go easy, my men —there's a lot of lye about that soap. . . .

▶

REPUBLICAN leaders all over the country have been urging President Hoover to cease being on the defensive and stress with more emphasis the offensive. That only goes to show the insatiability of politicians. What man could do more along that line than Hoover has already?

▶

AT last, after prolonged research, my commission of inquiry has rendered its report. We have discovered the one real difference between the Republican and the Democratic parties. After hanging around the White House for several weeks and looking as blank as if they really belonged there, my lusty lads found one real bit of news. The rest of the boys went out West with Roosevelt, swinging around the country among the farmers, stenographers, Wall Street bankers, Hiram Johnson, exporters, importers, Pullman porters, teachers, pupils, Frank Hague, tenement dwellers, cowboys, railway-brakemen, halfway-broke men, silver miners, and gold-diggers, to whom the Governor has been making specially-directed appeals for support. They, too, found one bit of news. Putting one and one together, here is the inside dope: the Republican Party spells our island possession *Puerto Rico* and the Democratic Party spells it *Porto*. Well, it vindicates my skepticism. I've been saying right along that this radical propaganda about the two parties' being just alike was a gross exaggeration.

Eccentricus

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